

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

The Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

PRO-SLAVERY MUTTERINGS.

Mr. Sumner has been now for nearly two hours regarding the Senate with one of his remarkable productions of classical eloquence, all about emancipation and the negro. The scene is dreary and monotonous and the subject is about as far as Sumner is concerned, being almost "played out." The abolition divines and lecturers who have been entertaining their kindred spirits within the metropolis, under the benign and august influence of the association herein before mentioned, have completely knocked Sumner out of the shade of public favor. His name is entirely eclipsed by that of Wendell Phillips, who, being last in this city (by the right of way), took a seat there by right of election, and for that purpose is watching the one Mr. Sumner hours so highly.—*Wash. Cor. N. Y. Express.*

The Republican newspaper of this city (Washington), so assiduous in behalf of every abolition movement, has actually degenerated from a show of respectability it did once possess, into the regular organ of the place. Nothing pertaining to the meetings and desires, but the case here (Washington), yesterday, and then opens the Capitol of the country to the ultra Republicans. They did not regard it as expensive enough. Nothing short of a full extinction of slavery everywhere, not excepting the Gulf section, will satisfy their remorseless cravings. Every Border State Representative, of every shade of politics, voting, excepting Mr. Blair, who represents the city of St. Louis, Mo., united in solid opposition to the proposition—a convincing evidence that it is distasteful to the States whose internal policy it seeks to disturb.—*Ibid.*

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find that all this "mending, washing, and cooking" is done for themselves.

They are far better off than our soldiers. While these poor fellows are bivouacking out in the open air, the "contrabands" have good shelter, good food, and plenty of warmth. The soldiers complain sadly of this.—*Cor. Philadelphia Inquirer.*

Selections.

GERRIT SMITH TO MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

"OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS," OF EQUAL RIGHTS ALL RACES. "HONOR ALL MEN."

PETERBORO, April 5th, 1862.

HON. M. BLAIR, Postmaster General—Dear Sir: I have read the letter which you sent to the great anti-slavery meeting held in New York 6th last month; and I have read it with the respect due to its distinguished author, and with my ever deep interest in the subjects of which it treats.

You evidently foresee the speedy death of American slavery. It will be as sure as speedy. The nation will not let it live to become the cause of another war. One such reckoning-day for the crime of slaveholding as is this day of horrors will cure us of all disposition to repeat the crime. The punishment which the guilty South and no less guilty North are suffering cannot soon be forgotten by either. And there was ever a punishment more fully allotted than more righteously retributive? It falls just where it should, and only where it should. The whites of the two sections are plundering and slaughtering each other; and in neither are the blacks harmed. The South is not aggravating the sorrows of the blacks. The North has ceased to send them into slavery, and is becoming kind to them. The slaves are getting their oppressors, Northern and Southern, instead of their own blood, is purchasing.

And however expedient it might be, it nevertheless will not be indispensable to build up barriers, statutory, constitutional or other against the return of slavery. It will never come back to curse us. The nation that has tried slavery and abolished it, never recalls it. As they who have had the small-pox do not have it again, so, too, the nation that has had the infinitely more loathsome disease of slavery does not have it again. The British West India planters, although they grumbled at some of the workings of emancipation, had nevertheless no desire for the restoration of slavery.

You are "morally certain" that if the slaves shall be unconditionally freed, they will be massacred. I am greatly astonished that you are. My more favorable views of human nature would not allow the slightest suspicion of such diabolism. And no less astonished am I that your only preventive of the unparalelled crime of government to fall in with the claims of the guilty and to yield up the rights of the innocent. How unlike are your views of the office of government to those expressed by the noble and lovely Paul! He would have it "a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well." But you would have it take sides with the guilty against the innocent. A true government goes for the innocent at whatever expense to the guilty. A true government stands by the least black baby at whatever cost to the millions of men who are wronging it. A true government goes for justice without compromise. But your best proposition is to leave undisturbed the monsters who are whetting their knives, and to save millions of men from these knives only by tearing them from their homes and driving them out of their country. I acknowledge your hope that these millions will go voluntarily. But if it is not your plan that they must go, then I know not why you should have written your letter. The most radical Abolitionist admits, and claims that they may go. Moreover, you would probably (I would not call it a voluntary going, however much it might have been induced by their disabilities, deprivations and oppressions at the hands of government.

Government is now, and ever has been, the heaviest curse of earth. But it will be transmuted into its manifold usurpations and claims that they may go. But you will simply hold a sure and steady shield over the rights of all. Then beneath that shield will be the right of all to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" be equally sacred. Then government will have no part in assuring, domesticating or colonizing its subjects; but will leave them to dispose of such matters after their own free choice. The colonizing of man has no more to do with it; but with the dress or food. If the blacks have an unenviable dislike of their white neighbors, or of the climate, or government, then let them leave us to go where they please. Hayti, Central America, and other countries will invite them and pay the expense of their emigration. Their rights as the blacks will very probably prize the thing to get rid of too highly to consent to pay for it. For the rights of the whites, not the colonization of the whites, but the slaughter, if need be, of every black would be your remedy. I much fear that your best ideal of government is a white man's government. But that is no better than a black man's government. And neither is good for anything. For, whether it be the government or the individual that, instead of being ennobled with the soul of manhood, is shriveled by the spirit of caste, humanity has nothing to hope from the miserable counterfeit.

You have much to say of the difference of races; and you hold that out of this difference have grown all our difficulties. I have already said shows that, in my opinion, government has nothing to do with it. What is more, conceit, arrogance and oppression. What is more, conceit, arrogance and oppression. There is in them nothing that we are not to tax the ingenuity of either group to solve—nothing to tax the ingenuity of either group to solve—nothing to tax the ingenuity of either group to solve. What we shall do about the problem difference between two races is no more a problem than what we shall do about the difference between two stars or two mountains. We are simply to accept the difference and to pass on. An owl's philosophy inquiry into what we shall do about the difference of the sun and the moon. Moreover, that one portion of the human family is essentially inferior to another is probably nothing better than a prejudice. Englishmen were not essentially inferior to Irishmen when long ago Irishmen bought and sold them; and Irishmen were not essentially inferior to Englishmen. Changes of circumstance are pressed by other causes, alternately lift up and depress a people. But their inherent, inborn faculties are neither multiplied nor diminished by changes of circumstance. The endless revolutions of the earth, Africa has contained the endless revolutions of learning and power; and in the endless revolutions in human affairs she may again and again contain and cease to contain them. The sooner government stops its war upon nature the sooner will these fluctuations become less, and the sooner will the fluctuations begin to approach the same permanent level. Nations begin the special action of government where there are two different races in the same country. There is a duty. It is its duty, you mean, to prefer one to the other. I would that you could see such a duty. I would that you could see such a duty. I would that you could see such a duty.

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our conquests by it." But what is to you proof of its good is to me proof of its bad character. And you commend this jealousy because it protects a superior race from social intercourse with an inferior one. Better such intolerance, however, than to fortify ourselves against it by hatred. At the risk of whatever consequences, we are to do all men and to rejoice at their rising in the social scale. And who dares not admit that to refuse intercourse with any portion of our Common Father's children is senseless, I dare affirm that such intolerance is not to be avoided if it can be avoided only at the expense of ignoring the claims of the human brotherhood and of withholding our love from a portion of it. Whatever else you have learned in the school of Christ, I cannot believe that you learned this jealousy there. Much as you hate slavery, I feel confident that it is to its teachings and influences you are indebted for this jealousy. It is a sad fact that slavery has been a successful teacher of our whole people, and that the damaged characters of even those who hate it prove the universality of its baleful influences. Our hatred of the blacks, notwithstanding you so strangely construe it into an expression of our hatred of slavery, comes, nevertheless, from the teachings and largely also from our love of slavery. In the nature of things, the unrighteousness of hating men cannot stand in connection with the righteousness of hating oppression. Go the world over, and you will no more find the haters of men hating oppression than you will find the lovers of men loving it. I confess that the mass of the Southern whites (and there is a great deal of such material in the North also) hate the blacks; and I affirm that it is because they hate them that they love to see them sunk in slavery.

Your remark that "the blacks have quickly disappeared when emancipated" can be accounted for, only on the supposition that at the moment of making it you inadvertently confounded them with the Indians. All writers are liable to such confusion. It is very true that the Indians diminish rapidly. But it is true that the negroes do not diminish at all. Whether, however, they increase every year, or we except instances where they are largely exterminated, they are from purpose and policy working to death. They increase in the West India Islands, and in the rigorous climate of Canada. And even in the Northern States, where, by force of cruel laws, both civil and social, they are shut out of respectable employments, places and associations; degraded; driven into the narrowest straits of poverty; and driven to the most wretched vices—they almost everywhere keep up their numbers. And this too, notwithstanding that at every Census many, under that "bleaching process" which goes steadily on, pass from the black to the white class. I must believe that were the Northern blacks, instead of being crowded into the unhealthy tenements of our towns, scattered through the rural districts in as large proportion as are the whites, their increase would, in spite of all their disadvantages, fall little short of that of the whites. I would say in this connection, the writer who argues that the negro's habits of improvidence in slavery hinder his thrift in freedom, argue not against setting him free but in favor of hurrying him out of slavery.

You assume quite too much when you say that the whites hold the lands of the South by title from the Creator. If you mean only that the climate of the lands is more favorable to the whites (though for property slaves in this connection, the writer who argues that the negro's habits of improvidence in slavery hinder his thrift in freedom, argue not against setting him free but in favor of hurrying him out of slavery.

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harm would then rapidly die out. It is true that the pressure of the war—and I much fear that they will be both morally and physically unconquerable; the nation would be dissolved; and for a time, a great evil would ensue both to the North and South. The cause of the division being blotted out, the South would soon be glad to get back into the old nation, the course of whose mountains and rivers shows that it can be divided only unnaturally and temporarily.

I said that the lands of the South will be held mainly as now. But what will the poor emancipated landless blacks do? Just what the poor landless whites will. Both will have to work for those that have, and at least until they are able to buy land. The blacks will buy it fast. The African evinces a peculiarly strong love of his "boring grounds," and a peculiarly strong desire to have a home of his own. During the brief period of freedom in the British West Indies, black men, to the amount of nearly or quite one hundred thousand, have become freeholders. And this, too, notwithstanding they were much inferior to ours in intelligence.

My saying that the blacks will buy homes at the South implies my assumption that, after the war, "The United States (will) shall guarantee to every State in this Union (a real) republican government." The "Dred Scott decision" will no longer be law. Men will then buy, and sell, and exercise all the rights of citizenship, not because of their complexion, but simply because they are men. They, who shall stand out for the "Black laws" of Illinois and other States, will rapidly become few. The denial to manhood of the rights of manhood will then be seen to be the guiltiest and the meanest crime. Black laws, outrageous democracy, caste-colonization, pro-slavery sermons, pro-slavery editorials, and all that sort of satanic brood will then be in immense disfavor. The war will cost us much treasure and life. But as the thunder-storm, though with damage here and there, will be, nevertheless a messenger of good, so will the war, in purifying the moral and political atmosphere, bring us some recompense for our frightful sacrifices in it.

Will the illiterate and ignorant blacks of the South be allowed to vote? Not unless the illiterate and ignorant whites are. There will be no bounty on a black skin. Qualifications for voting, and in short for all political and civil rights will, I trust, be at the South as in the British West Indies, entirely irrespective of complexion.

Also, that the question was ever raised: "What shall government do with the blacks at the close of the war?" Because of our ignorance and prejudice we have entertained it, and been embarrassed by it. Nothing so much as this question has kept and still keeps us from prosecuting the war unconditionally and thoroughly, and therefore to a speedy and triumphant result. I admit that our leading men are concerned to have the rebellion put down. Far greater, however, is the concern of a large share of them to have the slaves continued in their chains or colonized. To these the ending of the rebellion, if it is to be also the lifting up of five millions of blacks into fellow-citizens, would be no joyful prospect.

Pardon me, dear sir, for expressing regret that you sent such a letter to the New York meeting. I readily admit that most of our statesmen would not have been better off if they had never been concerned to have the rebellion put down. Far greater, however, is the concern of a large share of them to have the slaves continued in their chains or colonized. To these the ending of the rebellion, if it is to be also the lifting up of five millions of blacks into fellow-citizens, would be no joyful prospect.

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ATTEMPTED KIDNAPPING IN WASHINGTON.

THE KIDNAPPERS CAPTURED AND LOCKED UP.

From The Washington Republican, April 7.

On Saturday, the camps of the 7th New York and 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry, on the Seventh street road, beyond the Park Hotel, were scenes of the wildest excitement, caused by an attempt on the part of two County Constables named John H. Wise (late jailer) and Charles Kemble, to arrest a free negro man, and a fugitive from a runaway slave. The colored man whose arrest was attempted is named Edward Sam. He is a native of the Island of Trinidad, and has free papers, which are certified to by the United States Consul at that port, and also by the British Consul in this city. We paid a visit to both of the camps yesterday, and gleaned the following particulars of the affair:

Early on Saturday afternoon a hack containing three persons was seen to stop on the Seventh street road, about half a mile beyond the Park Hotel. At that point one of the men (a former sergeant of the 7th New York Cavalry) got out and stood in the road. The hack passed on a short distance and stopped again in front of the camp of the 7th New York. The two men then got out, and at a given signal from the man standing in the road, pounced upon and seized a negro man who was within the lines. The man arrested inquired the reason of such proceeding, when he was informed by one of the kidnappers that they were going to take him to his master, as he was a runaway slave. The colored man told them that he had no master, that he was as free as they were, and that he had his free papers, which he offered to produce if they would release him and give him time to get after them. This the kidnappers refused to do, and began to drag him to the hack, the colored man all the while protesting that he was free, and crying lustily for help. His cries attracted the attention of a sentinel named Michael Hickey, a member of Company M, 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry (a squad of whom were engaged in guarding some government property near by). He rushed to his rescue, and demanded of the kidnappers the cause of the colored man's arrest. They were told by Kemble that the man was his slave, and that he had come to take him into custody. The sentinel, who knew the colored man to be free, told them that if they did not release him immediately, he would run them through with his sabre, at the same time drawing his weapon. The kidnappers did not mind his threat, and again attempted to drag him to the carriage, but were soon stopped by the sentinel with his sabre. Wise asked the soldier if he knew what he was about, and if he intended to place himself between them and the law, to which he replied that he would place himself between them and himself, and that he should carry off a free man into slavery. The kidnappers professed to have an order from Provost-Marshal Porter giving them permission to search any of the camps around the city for runaways, upon being asked to exhibit they could not do so.

By this time a large crowd of soldiers from the surrounding camps had collected around the kidnappers, who got into the carriage and ordered the driver to take them into town, vowing vengeance against the sentinel, who had interfered with them "while in discharge of their duty." The sentinel, who was not to be bamboozled in that way, however, ordered the driver to stop, and then he got out of the carriage and accompanied him to his Colonel's tent. The two men refusing to accede to the modest request of the sentinel, he drew his pistol with one hand, and with the other, jerked them out of the vehicle, threatening, if they made the least resistance, to blow their brains out. This proceeding had the effect of persuading the gallant "kids" that it was best for them to obey the sentinel's command, and to follow him to the Colonel's tent. The crowd by this time had further increased, and as the men were taken from the carriage a scene of the wildest excitement ensued. From the throats of between 300 and 400 enraged men came loud demands of "Hannibal" and "Hannibal." The sentinel, who was not to be bamboozled in that way, however, ordered the driver to stop, and then he got out of the carriage and accompanied him to his Colonel's tent. The two men refusing to accede to the modest request of the sentinel, he drew his pistol with one hand, and with the other, jerked them out of the vehicle, threatening, if they made the least resistance, to blow their brains out. This proceeding had the effect of persuading the gallant "kids" that it was best for them to obey the sentinel's command, and to follow him to the Colonel's tent. The crowd by this time had further increased, and as the men were taken from the carriage a scene of the wildest excitement ensued. From the throats of between 300 and 400 enraged men came loud demands of "Hannibal" and "Hannibal." 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DUBLIN, March 22, 1862.
In THE STANDARD for March 8, this day came to hand a letter under the caption of "America's Complaint of England," which you begin with the remark that "nothing is so hard as to convert those who hold opinions the opposite of our own to our own way of thinking." Your object is to show us, in as few words as possible, the sense which the average of intelligent Americans have of the course of the English government, press and people, towards the people of the free States in their present emergency? I admit that you have done so with great moderation, but you have not brought me over to your way of thinking, for, in the words of Gerald Griffin, in his delicious poem of Kathleen and Kevin,

"I cannot feel it in my breast,
Or see it all around me,"
I hear, on all hands, that the state of irritation and hostility towards us, which exists on your side, is something beyond anything known for nearly half a century—while I know that nothing corresponding to this intense animosity exists on this side of the water. As the correspondent of THE SPECTATOR, writing home from New York, says that the feeling against us is rather for the moment, we have not done that for any act of hostility or participation for acts of omission rather than acts of commission.

As to the acknowledgment of the Confederates as belligerents, this was done in compliance with the policy of non-intervention in foreign quarrels to which England had been forced by her past mistakes. You will point to the declared policy of the South, and her determination to become the centre of a vast pro-slavery propaganda throughout the world. But you must admit that the uprising of the North was not by any means limited upon an anti-slavery conviction, or upon any desire of determination to abolish slavery. Provided the South would return to her allegiance, the North was willing to guarantee her the undisturbed maintenance of her peculiar institution. The rebellion of the South, and the uprising of the North were, to all close observers, pretty certain to end in a death-blow to slavery. Very few intelligent Abolitionists, anywhere, have had a second opinion on this subject. But the English people rather pride themselves that they are a practical people—that they disregard theories—that they take things as they find them, and that as the Confederates were bent on maintaining slavery, and the Federates were bent on abolishing it, it was no business of theirs to interfere, more especially as declarations from the North reached us, times without number, that they cared nothing for and did not want our pity, sympathy, or assistance.

There are twenty millions of people in England, divided into an infinite variety of cliques, classes, and parties, according to their education or their position in life. Some think most of rank, others of wealth, some of religion, others of morals. It would be surprising if a great variety of sentiment did not exist among them as to the merits of your civil war—and it is hard that all should be condemned for the mistakes of a portion of the whole people. My belief is that the government is anxious to act impartially—that the Press, with the exception chiefly of some of the London papers, is on your side—and that the majority of the people are no well-wishers to the South or to slavery. They have heard so much, since the outbreak of the civil war, of the hatred to England aroused by every step she has taken, that no one should be surprised if no great enthusiasm is exhibited on your behalf. For it is difficult for any of us to be enthusiastically in favor of those who say they hate us, and declare they will take an early opportunity to strip us of our province and pull down our pride. This kind of swaggering talk has filled up a great deal of space in the extracts have seen from American papers from the free States whilst the Southerners have shown far more discretion in this respect. They may be quite as hostile, but they don't take the present occasion to say how much the dearest.

As to the excitement on both sides about the "Irish affair," it was as remarkable an instance as history records of the fact that millions of people on one side may look on the same event in one point of view, whilst millions will look on it in another. In North, you could see nothing but the quality of manly regard nothing but the quality of the act of taking them by force from a British vessel. Not even John Bright, who is now such a favorite on your side, ventured to assert that our government had any alternative but to demand the rendition of the slaveholders Commissioners. And when these men landed at Southampton, nobody noticed them—a marvellous proof of self-denial on principle on the part of a people struggling for a good stare at any sort of lion, no matter how ridiculous.

As to the Nashville and Tuscarora, England did more than you would have done in refusing permission to foreign ships to fight in your own waters. I believe the burning of the Harvey Birch was not perpetrated as you imply, within sight of the British shores. Nobody would say that Mr. Adams and Mr. Yancy should be allowed to fight a duel in the streets of London. In England, the conduct of the government was felt to be an effort to keep the peace in our own waters, while as far as I know, the conduct of the Captain of the Nashville was generally condemned as atrocious.

I deeply feel the difficulty of even stating our case without causing irritation. When a man is, as you say, unreasonably angry with you, and you are yet so desirous to remove his hostile impressions, it is difficult to do so without causing him still further anger. When the subjects discussed between American Abolitionists and their British sympathizers were only those immediately connected with slavery, the parties being the same, they were all of one mind, there was nothing but harmony; I allude, of course, to those on both sides who sympathized in the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society. But when questions of governmental policy and international law came into view, this unanimity was impossible. The recent political institutions, difference of national prejudices, and the variety of views created by our being separated by 3,500 miles of ocean, create an insurmountable difference of opinions which can only be reconciled by a disposition to make mutual allowance, and by a largeness of view which is not very common anywhere. I have heard many wise, learned, kind, thoughtful men, all whose sympathies are with the North as opposed to slavery, remark how singularly one-sided many Americans are—how unable to make allowance or to put themselves in the same position as others, so as to look at things in their point of view.

I lament that some Abolitionists have been very ready to regard as unfaithful friends to liberty in general, and the slave in particular, their British correspondents, who were honestly unable to see eye to eye with them on questions of international law and American policy. Indeed, there has been an extraordinary instance of this kind in the case of your late English correspondent. It is true that her mode of stating her views respecting the Trent affair was not such as I would have thought desirable in addressing a proud and sensitive people, laboring under feelings of great irritation—but I am amazed and sorry that any such error should have been readily cancelled in your minds the respect and gratitude due to one who has, as I believe, deserved more of the Abolitionists than any other individual on this side of the Atlantic, during the last twenty years—an eminent authoress, whose lucid style and powerful pen, as well as a journalist, an historian, an essayist, or a novelist, have never wearied in behalf of the slave, or in pleading the cause of liberty and good government in the free States. The columns of the most respectable and consistent of the London daily papers continually evince her attachment to your cause, and to the cause of the free States, and, indeed, for the union of respectability, genius and industry, with unswerving sagacity and disinterestedness, in every effort for the good of her fellow creatures, I do not know her parallel in the catalogue of eminent female writers.

The scant courtesy of your parting words to Harriet Martineau, coupled with the sudden popularity among the American Abolitionists of John Bright, who never said a word for them or their cause until he was induced to do so by the temptation (which is so often nearly always irresistible) of attacking the British government, read an unpleasant lesson of the frailty of popular reputation. If the slaves themselves were able to hear my voice, and capable of taking the advice of a friend, I would recommend them, in spite of all that has happened within the last few months, to place their

of the Nation of the crime, the curse, the infamy of enduring slavery on its soil. Mighty prophets, these! They tell of great changes already wrought in the mind and heart of the Nation and of greater yet at hand. No one who has not been engaged in the Anti-Slavery Movement for the last quarter of a century, and who has not watched the hopes against hope and the desperate persistencies of that often baffled and unequal conflict, can realize how much is implied in these two public acts. The service made in the dyke which the South had built so carefully and kept so cunningly in repair to hinder the tide of anti-slavery feeling and opinion from bursting upon the realm it had set apart for slavery to enjoy it more than ever. It is not in the nature of moral, any more than of natural, forces to diminish the strain upon the weakest part of the resistance bared to their provocation, but to increase it until it carries all before it. Hence the far-seeing wisdom, which made the slaveholders forbear self-preservation, which made the slaveholders forbid the least approach to their defences, knowing that the first impression made upon them would be equivalent to their destruction. And hence, too, the opposition of the slaveholding and pro-slavery parties, in and out of Congress, to the accomplishment of these public acts—not less passionate than if slavery had been immediately, instead of indirectly, struck at.

In all this we believe that many of the co-workers were building better than they knew. They yielded to the impulse which has been growing stronger and stronger for years, and which will be satisfied with nothing short of the destruction of slavery, without fully comprehending the scope of its sway. They were instruments in the hands of that divinity which shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we may. Be that as it may, the thing done and the thing portended remain all the same, matters of history and of hope. We think that both the lovers and the haters of slavery are as to the immediate possibilities of current events. The old pro-slavery partisans who had pursued the triumph and partaken the gain of slaveholding successes, and who long for the return of those golden days, flatter themselves that if the rebels be not beaten too much, they will kindly condescend to forgive us and to return to rule over us as of old time. The earnest anti-slavery men, on the other hand, dread what the others hope for as the possible ending of this contest. We have ourselves often presented the necessary consequences of an actual restoration of the status quo ante bellum. We have shown how worse than thrown away would be all the blood and treasure which the war has cost, if the revolted States could be prevailed upon to return and join hands with their old allies and reassume their dominion over us. But the longer the war lasts, the less the possibility of such an ending of it. If victorious, of course they will spurn any such adjustment. If defeated, it will be long before they will be in a mood to fall into line even with their ancient auxiliaries. It is taken for granted that a successful suppression of the rebellion in the open field would be followed by an immediate return to the old state of things and of feeling. This we do not think conformable to human nature or human experience. Even in Tennessee we see how far the State is from being restored to its former condition. Should open resistance be subdued, a large passive resistance would be opposed to the predominance of the United States government. In the Gulf States, certainly, nothing but military occupation can keep them nominally in the Union for a long time to come. The political supremacy of slavery we hope and believe can never be restored. In the meantime, slavery is becoming every day more and more of a burden, and less and less of a source of wealth. When slavery shall have ceased to be the means of making Presidents and of making fortunes, we may believe that even the most stiff-necked of its worshippers may consent to accept the hand of the Nation held out to them for their helping. This may be, it probably is, the appointed way of our escape from the predicament in which our fathers' crime and our own have placed us. Not a triumphant march, indeed, through which a bannered host might march, but a narrow path through which we must wade as good as we deserve.

Our readers are all familiar with the name of the Rev. William G. Brownlow, commonly called "Parson Brownlow," of Knoxville, Tenn., where he has long been conspicuous as a political editor and Methodist preacher. He has always been distinguished as a supporter of slavery and a hater of the Abolitionists, to whose heads he has rained columns of vulgar, not to say profane, abuse. To his credit be it said, however, he has always been opposed to the sham Democracy, and when the rebellion broke out, he denounced it, and its authors, in his paper, with a power of vituperation almost without parallel, thereby subjecting himself to persecution, imprisonment, and almost death. After the Union victories in Tennessee, the rebels, afraid to either liberate or kill him, allowed him to come North. In Cincinnati, so strong was the public sympathy with him on account of his trials, and so high the appreciation of his courage in resisting the schemes of the rebels, that the whole community united to do him honor. The Methodist clergy of the city assembled at the Book Room to greet him, and he made them a speech so characteristic, and so accurately descriptive of the religion of the South, that we cannot resist the temptation to give our readers an extract:

"This thing called secession originated in falsehood, theft and perjury. Floyd did the stealing, the masses of the people did the lying, and thirteen United States Senators did the perjury. I and the other members of the Senate in the daytime they made a show of keeping their oaths, but at night they held their secret caucuses, planning secession and advising their leaders to seize the prominent forts of the South and arms of impudence wherever they could get their hands on. I do not think there were better men in hell or in the penitentiaries of this or any other State than the prominent leaders in this secession movement. And I am sorry to say that the worst class of men now in the Southern Confederacy are the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians. High functionaries in the Episcopal Church are now drinking and swearing. Men who have met in our General Conferences with some of these aged brethren whom I now see around me, preach as chaplains on Sabbath, but swear and get drunk on the contrary. I and the other members of the Senate in the daytime they made a show of keeping their oaths, but at night they held their secret caucuses, planning secession and advising their leaders to seize the prominent forts of the South and arms of impudence wherever they could get their hands on. I do not think there were better men in hell or in the penitentiaries of this or any other State than the prominent leaders in this secession movement. And I am sorry to say that the worst class of men now in the Southern Confederacy are the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians. High functionaries in the Episcopal Church are now drinking and swearing. 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